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THE OPINIONS

Of two great Moderate

DIVINES,

The one a PROTESTANT, the other a PAPIST, both famous in their Kindes.

The Reverend Servant of God *Martin Luther*, and *Peter Charron* the Renowned Doctor of *Sorbon*:

Touching the preſent *Caſe of Conſcience* (ſo much agitated amongſt us) of taking up any Arms againſt our Soveraigne Lord the KING.

Printed in the Yeare,

1643.

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MARTIN LVTHERS DECLARATION

to his Countrimen.

First Published in Dutch by Himselfe, and translated by *Sleidan*, a most faithfull, Historian in his fifth book of Commentaries, and truely Translated from him into English:

By a constant friend to the Peace and Truth of the Gospell.

Præjudicium præcipitium

L. 5 Sleidan, p. 115.

DIstractions encreasing through *Germany*, when things seemed to tend towards tumults, and insurrections (for the Boores had not yet taken up arms) *Luther* in a published writing warned all to abstaine from sedition. For although some terrible and present danger seemed to hang over the Churchmens heads: yet he thinks that it would be nothing, or not so great as to overturn all their power; for a farre greater misery hangs over their heads, and that that would come to passe: which after *Daniel*, *Paul*, also foretold, that their Tyranny should fall by no humane power, but by the comming of Christ our Saviour and the holy Ghost: and, that this was the foundation of his opi-

nion, & the cauſe he never greatly reſiſted them, who attempted to bring about their deſtruction with war, & that he certainly knows that they endeavour in vain, and although happily ſome few Churchmen are ſlaine, yet this butchery will not take away all of them, and that they now tremble and run up & downe & that he heartily wiſhes that they may tremble more & more, if perchance they may repent of their offences: but that the wrath of God is kindled, and that formerly they were troubled with the danger of their lives, and now of their eſtates, but take no thought how to be reconciled to God, nay ſecure in all things, deſpiſe ſo good admonitions, and almoſt laugh at the denouncing of Gods wrath: and although they have reaſon to feare nothing worſe, yet ſince the preſent condition of affaires requires ſome Declaration of my advice, I will freely ſpeake my mind. And firſt of all it concerns the Magiſtrate to provide that their people receive not any damage, and to endeavour that Religion be not blemiſhed with falſe doctrines: this is their duty, and that they ought to uſe all the power they have to Gods glory, and the peoples ſafety: but becauſe they do far otherwiſe, and hinder each other, and ſome to maintain falſe Doctrines, that thoſe Princes ſhall not eſcape unpuniſhed. This is not my Councell, that Papiſts ſhould be oppoſed with arms, but that the Magiſtrate ſhould binde them to their duty, and ſhould in this exerciſe their power and authority, and ſhould not ſtrengthen their boldneſſe and impiety, neither with their clemency or diſſembling. But as for the common people, and unskilfull multitude that they muſt gravely be warned, that they take not up armes, unleſſe with the conſent of their Prince: for otherwiſe they will loſe their labour, and God will take vengeance on them, neither ſhall ſo great a ſin be atoned with ſo light a puniſhment. But that the Magiſtrates go on ſo ſlowly and negligently, and ſuffer ſo great indignities, and are not a whit moved with ſo open injuries and ſcoffs of the Churchmen: this falls out through Gods permiſſion, that he himſelfe might revenge this buſineſſe, and poure out all his vengeance on them. And though happily this ſhould break forth into tumults, and God ſuffer himſelfe to be ſatisfied with ſo gentle a puniſhment: yet theſe ways of ſedition are not onely not commendable, but unprofitable alſo:

ſo: for there is no reaſon in ſedition, and it commonly falls out, the innocent principally ſuffer, and that none that raiſeth tumults are excuſable, although their cauſe be juſt, and when a popular tumult is once up, good and honeſt men muſt need periſh together with the ungodly and wicked. Therefore we muſt have an eye to the Prince, and ſo long as he ſtirs not, we muſt not attempt any thing privately. For all ſedition thwarts Gods Commandements, who hath commanded that all the differences of private men ought to be ended by Law. And ſince ſedition is nothing elſe but private revenge, and no man doubts but God diſallows and hates it: and that this preſent ſedition is raiſed by the Devill, the enemy of mankind, who not abiding the light of the truth, ſtirs up ſedition amongſt men that profeſſe the Goſpell, that he might bring into hatred and diſpraiſe the Truth reſtored us by Gods bleſſing for ſome yeers paſt, as if it came not from God, and ſeemed to give occaſion to ſo great evils as our Adverſaries exceedingly brag hereof, yet their judgements are to be ſleighted, and I wholly contemne them. I have neither written nor ſpoken any thing to kindle any ſedition. Now for them which ask and object what then muſt be done, and how far muſt we ſuffer theſe indignities, the Prince conniving and diſſembling, they muſt follow this rule, firſt acknowledge their ſins, with which God being angry hath permitted this Churchmens tyranny to be ſo laſting, and to wande ſo far e: that this ſo cruell and wicked power is the wages of our ſins and ungodlineſſe, which if we would have taken from us, we ought principally to reconcile God to us by amendment of our Lives, then with fervent prayer deſire Gods aſſiſtance againſt the power of the Pope, following *Davids* example, who beſought God often that he would break the power and pride of the ungodly. Laſtly, we muſt make famous the Doctrine of the Goſpell, and manifeſt to the whole World the impoſtures of the Papiſts, that their errours being diſcovered, and the truth received, men would eſteem at nought, and contemne whatſoever proceeds from them: and that this is the beſt means to weaken their powers. Nothing at all is gained with force, and arms, and for the moſt part it falls out that they are rather ſtrengthened by war. But if Chriſt ſhould be compared with the perſon of the

Pope

Pope, then it would appear, what is the differenee betwixt the Light of the Sun and darkneſſe, and what a bleſſing God hath conferd upon us, by making a paſſage for us to the knowledge of himſelfe, removing all rubs out of the way, and then at laſt will al their power and credit decay. This may be ſhewed in my own Example, who have more troubled the Pontificiall power then any violence, or force of arms could doe, and therefore no other ſedition is to be wiſhed for, and that the preaching of the Goſpel alone now revived with Chriſts aſſiſtance will be powerfull, and ſharpe enough to deſtroy the Popedome. Hither we muſt fix our eyes and mind, neither looke any withhre elſe. This is not my work wherein I am converſant (for ſo great a weight exceeds the ſtrength and meaſure of mans wit) that the Goſpell hath ſpread ſo far, and hath wholly exceeded my expectation, and therefore doubt not but he which hath laid the foundation of the work, hath given the encreaſe, will bring it alſo to an end and period, although all our enemies reſiſt and oppoſe themſelves againſt us. When the Devill ſaw all other his attempts in vain, betooke himſelfe to a new courſe, and raiſeth men to ſedition, that he might hinder men from falling from his own and the Popes government, but he will not bring to paſſe what he endeavours, and 'twill come to paſſe, that more and more 'twill be weakned by the preaching of the true doctrine, we muſt perſevere in that doctrine with all care and diligence, and declare how little mens decrees availe to Salvation, Satan now ſeeing the decay of his Kingdome raiſed Tumults and aſſayes to hinder the growth of the Goſpell by Sedition. 'Tis true, I confeſſe, that thoſe Princes which will not ſuffer the preaching of the Goſpell which preſſe and oppreſſe their people many wayes, are worthy to be dethroned by God, for they are inexcuſable. And although this be ſo, yet muſt you be carefull to keepe your conſciences pure and blameleſſe, otherwiſe you will loſe both Body and Soule. Neither ought you to conſider how great your forces are, or how much your adverſaries are to be blamed, but how juſt and lawfull the cauſe is you maintain. Take therefore carefull heed. Neither believe all Sermons, for Satan under pretence of the Goſpell hath raiſed up at this time many ſeditious and bloudy teachers. Truly I will freely and ſincerely

cerely councell you as I ought: 'Tis your part to minde and hearken to him that rightly counſels you. Neither, though many ſpeak evill of me and raile at me, am I moved thereat. It is enough if I can ſnatch ſome from Gods vengeance, I regard not the other crew, and as they contemne me, ſo neither on the other ſide do I feare them. But to come to the purpoſe, you challenge indeed the name of God, and yee call your ſelves a Chriſtian company, and brag you will follow that law God hath ordained. But without doubt you know Gods name is not to be taken in vain, nor falſly: For God hath threatned ſuch a puniſhment which waits on you, for you do not well in this buſineſſe. He that drowned the world, that deſtroyed *Sodom* with fiery raine, will eaſily overturn you alſo whatſoever your ſtrength is But it may be eaſily demonſtrated that you falſly pretend the name of God in your actions: therefore we may cleerly judge of the iſſue for He deceives not that ſaid, *They that take the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword*, they, to wit, who boldly of themſelves take upon them the power of puniſhing, notwithſtanding: *Paul* commands *every ſoul to obey their Princes reverently, and with feare.* What will you anſwer to this, who feigne you will follow the preſcript of Gods word, and yet in the mean while ye take the Sword and reſiſt your Prince whom God hath ſet over you? Is not this to take Gods Name in vain? But you object the Prince ſo behaves himſelfe, that he is not to be endured: for he takes from us the doctrine of the Goſpell, and in all other things ſo oppreſſeth that he cannot more. Grant 'tis ſo, yet notwithſtanding all this warre and ſedition are not to be raiſed: for it belongs not to every one to reſtrain evils, but to him alone to whom is given the power and right of the Sword, as the Scripture plainly ſpeakes. Beſides not onely lawes, but the Law of Nature too imprinted in us, ſhew that 'tis not lawfull for any one to be Jury and Judge in his own cauſe: for we are all naught and wholly blinded with ſelfe-love. But it cannot be denied that this you Tumult and ſedition is a private revenge, becauſe you take upon you to be judges in your own cauſe, and endeavour to revenge thoſe injuries you think are done you with your own power, but this your dealing is againſt the law of God, the law of Nature, and Juſtice it ſelfe. And ſince

this

this is ſo, you cannot by any meanes defend this heynous crime; for if you have any warrant from God for theſe doings, you muſt needs declare it by ſome notable miracle. But here it falls out as Chriſt ſaith, you ſee cleerely what is to be blamed in others, but obſerve not how much impiety their is in your own cauſe. The Magiſtrate you ſay deales unjuſtly, but you much more unjuſtly, who contemning Gods commandement ſeaſe one anothers right, who leave nothing at all to your Prince: for what is left to him when ye take away his power? I appeale unto your ſelves. Which thinke you is the worſe of the two, he that takes away from a man a great part of his goods yet leaves ſomething, or he that having taken away the goods, takes away his life alſo? The Prince takes from you your eſtates, he doth unjuſtly; But you take away his power wherein conſiſts his whole fortune both of body and goods; Therefore you are worſe then he. But you will ſay, we neither deſire his life nor eſtate. Beleeve this he that will, I will not. Whoſoever takes away from any one the chiefe part, will not feare to take away the reſidue that depends thereon. But be it as you ſay, Let him enjoy his eſtate, let his life be ſafe; that which you have done already exceeds all meaſure. When you have ſpoyled him of all power, you your ſelves will bee Lords paramount. Weigh this within your ſelves, I beſeech you; If this your courſe be commendable and muſt prevaile, there will be no Judgements, no Magiſtrates, and it ſhall be lawfull for every one privately to doe to any one according to his own Will and Luſt, neither can we looke for any other fruit from hence then killing and plundering one another: for as every one thinks he is injured by another, ſo will he revenge that wrong as he pleaſeth. But if this be unjuſt, and ought to be indured in no perſon, much leſſe ought it to be granted to any multitude of men aſſembled together. Or if it be granted, it is to be borne in each perſon. What? in this your company if things ſhould come to that Liberty, that every one ſhould defend his own cauſe privately, I pray you what would you doe? without doubt he ſhould be compeld to appeare before the common place of Judgement, eſtabliſhed by you: what excuſe have you then, which teare aſunder Juſtice, and reject your Prince whom God himſelfe hath ſet over you. This Law where-

of

of we ſpeake is imprinted in all mens minds, and is reverenced even by the moſt barbarous people: for otherwiſe all things would be tumultuouſly carried. Which did you obſerve diligently, yet were ye not herein much better then the Turkes, or ſuch kind of people ignorant of our Religion: for to undergoe publick Tryall and obedience to the Prince makes not up a Chriſtian. For very neceſſity compels us even againſt our wills hereunto. Since therefore you violate this law of nature, you are farre worſe then the Heathens: ſo farre are you from being worthy of the name of Chriſtians, which title ſince you arrogate to your ſelves, and wrong Gods name, being unworthy of the name of Turks, ſince you violate the law of Nature. How then will ye ſtand in the ſight of Chriſt at the day of the univerſall Judgement? Looke to it again and again, what teachers you have, for feare I leſt ſome bloody Teachers have crept in amongſt you, who drive you on with Sermons, that having your aide they might invade both power and Soveraignty, careleſſe wholly of your eſtates and ſalvation. God commands that all revenge ſhould be left to him, Scripture commands us to obey even bad governours. Therefore we muſt obey elſe you ſhall raiſe ſedition, which at length will fall on your own pates. for God will not ſuffer this Licentiouſneſſe to eſcape unpuniſhed, and while ye ſeek for Liberty loſe your life goods and ſoule. Gods wrath is hot againſt you, and the Divell (the enemy of all mens ſalvation) hath ſent falſe Teachers amongſt you. Beware therefore and repent. Now ſhall I ſpeak of Chriſtianity and Goſpell ſince you take this name upon you, 'tis fit tryall ſhould be made what manner of law yours is. And firſt Chriſt commands us not to reſiſt evill, but to him that ſtrikes the one cheeke, we muſt reach the other; to him that takes away our coat, we muſt give our cloake alſo: that we ſhould bleſſe and doe good to our enemies. To the ſame purpoſe are many places in Holy writ. But now ſee how this your courſe anſwers Chriſts command; ſee whether your Teachers have led you. 'Tis a Chriſtians part to ſuffer, take up the Croſſe, not to reſiſt, not to revenge, not to ſtrike with the Sword. But what like this is ſeen in you? Very hard is the Chriſtian Profeſſion, and few performe that which indeed they ought, which that it may the better be

 underſtood.

unde-ſtood, I will give you an example of that law whereof we ſpeake. *Peter* that he might defend his Lord and Maſter, ſmote the ſervant of the high Prieſt. Did he not do it on good ground? Since they did not onely ſeeke Chriſts life but did take from his Diſciples the Goſpell whereon their ſalvation did depend, *viz.* by taking away their Maſter Chriſt; But you have not yet ſuffered ſo great an injury. But what doth Chriſt the while? he commands *Peter* to abſtaine from defence, deeply ſentencing thoſe that take up the ſword without their Princes conſent and execute private revenge. What doth Chriſt when he is nailed to the croſſe? when he's forbad to teach as God the Father had commanded? he beares patiently, relies wholly on God the Father, and prayes unto him for his Perſecutors, you muſt tread in theſe Footſteps, or lay down that glorious title. But now ſince you take up arms, you ſhall not obtaine your deſires and your weapons ſhall fall out of your hands. And now will I ſpeak ſomewhat of my ſelfe. The whole world oppoſed me mightily, and yet notwithſtanding by how much their oppoſition was more vehement, by ſo much did my doctrine ſpread the wider. How ſo? Becauſe I did nothing violently, I raiſed no Tumult, I was not deſirous of revenge, but the civill Magiſtrate I reverenced and honoured them with my writings as much as in me lay, and what was moſt principall, committing all to God, I did acquieſſe in his power. Thus therefore have I been preſerved to this day, though the Pope and my Adverſaries gnaſh their teeth at me, and my doctrine hath ſpread to many people. But you proceed too violently; and whiles you think you promote the work, conceiue not how much you endamage it. Theſe things are ſpoken to this purpoſe, that you lay aside from you the name of Chriſtians, though yee maintain the beſt cauſe, yet as we ſhewed before, tis neither lawfull for a Chriſtian man to fight againſt, nor reſiſt an evill Prince. The title therefore, and name of Chriſtians I neither grant, nor give you; Neither would I hereby excuſe your Princes, for they doe many things unjuſtly I acknowledge, yet nevertheleſſe this your action is farre removed from the profeſſion of the Chriſtian name, But if you ſhall wilfully keepe that name, and under this colour ſhall ſhadow your cauſe; I profeſſe my ſelfe

your

your Enemy, becauſe under pretence of the Goſpell, yee do that which plainly croſſeth the doctrine of Chriſt. Therefore I ſhall pray God that he would look on you a far off & overthrow this your courſe. I ſhall thus pray, though I had rather you ſhould ſo demeane your ſelves, that it might not be needfull for me to pray thus againſt you; They which are true Chriſtians do nothing violently, but ſuffer and pray as the holy men of all times ſhew by their example: for this is the only ſaving way, and brings greateſt quiet to the Conſcience. But you can expect no bleſſing from God. Indeed it may come to paſſe (that God winking at it) you may finde ſome ſucceſſe but at laſt all will turne to your owne deſtruction, ye ought not to force any thing from the Magiſtrate? for that's againſt Juſtice and the law of nature. The places of Scripture quoted by your Teachers are neither fully nor faithfully cited, and being more neerely eyed make not for you, but againſt you. This you principally ſay, the Goſpell is taken from you, but it cannot be that any one ſhould be driven there from, for 'tis not tied to any certaine place, but freely wanders and is ſpread throughout the world: as that ſtarre which ſhone to them that came from the Eaſt, ſhewing them where Chriſt was borne and lay. 'Tis indeed in the Princes power to forbid any one to come where the Goſpell is taught, but 'tis in our power too, to forſake our Country, and to perſue this Doctrine in other Countries. Any place it ſelfe is not to be kept or ſeized on by you, but muſt be reſigned up to the Prince or Lord, and we muſt goe ſome whither elſe as Chriſt teacheth. As for the firſt demand concerning the chooſing of Miniſters, tis well if you proceed orderly, For if the Prince were doner of the goods wherewith the Miniſters are maintained, then 'tis not lawfull for the people to beſtow it on any one: but firſt the Prince is to be deſired to ſet over a Paſtor, if he refuſes, the people may chooſe and maintain one at their own charges; if the Prince permit not this, then muſt the choſen Paſtor fly, and he that will with him: if you do otherwiſe you committ ſinne and injury. And this is my opinion (men and brethren) which you deſired of me; now 'tis your part, ſince you write, you will obey the teſtimonies of Scripture, to apply your minds hereunto. But doe

not ſo ſoon as theſe things ſhall be brought unto you ſhew as if I were become the Princes flatterer as if I taught truly; but firſt weigh the whole matter, and the reaſons urged, for certainly your buſineſſe is handled, but eſpecially beware of thoſe teachers that ſtirre you up. I know all this kind of men, they lead you to a ſteep, that they may get honours and eſtates by your danger.

The cauſe why Luther *obiects unto them a falſe title wherewith they freed themſelves from reproach, was this, becauſe that they in all their Letters, when they inited and compelled men to an aſſociation, bragged that they put themſelves in arms by Gods command, and out of Love to the Common-wealth, that the Goſpell might be made famous, encreaſe, and be kept, that truth and righteouſneſſe and honeſty of Life might be enlarged, that they might provide for themſelves and theirs, and might not be any more oppreſſed by any force. And when they had thus given an account of their doings, in few words, they commanded their Neighbours, that preſently and out of hand they haſten to them in armes and aide them, if not, then they threatned that they would ſpeed to them with all their forces.*

A Chriſtian

A CHRISTIAN DISCOVRSE:

SHEWING,

That the Subject is not permitted for any Cauſe or Reaſon whatſoever, to League, Bandy, and Rebell againſt his *KING.*

Delivered in a Letter Written in *French* to a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, in *Aprill* 1589. by that Great and Famous Scholler *Peter Charron.*

And now Faithfully Tranſlated into Engliſh

I Would fain know what you thinke of theſe times? Do not this publique agitation, though it were free from ſuch monſtrous, horrible, and bloody exploits, afflict you? For my own particular, I have (I thanke God) made a good advantage of it in reſpect of many others; but the Diſtractions, which my imagination receives and ſuffers by it, are ſuch, as all the reſt that is in me is nothing in reſpect of it. It ſeemes there is no reaſon one ſhould be altogether exempted from it,

it, yet would I be hidde in ſome corner, where I might know nothing till all were done, and that then I might be told the ſtory of it. But for us leave this, and come to that which concernes the Conſcience, I will confeſſe my ſelfe to you, and freely tell you what I thinke of it,

The time was, when I was tampering to be of the League and had ſet one foot into it; for indeed I was never wholly nor reſolutely of it; truly their actions extreamely offended me. That which had enclined me to it, was principally the buſineſſe of *Blois* which much afflicted me, for no other reaſon, but for the default I found in the manner and proceeding of the execution. Now that great heat of choller and indignation being ſomewhat cooled, and having heard people of all ſorts talke thereupon, conſulting oftentimes by my ſelfe, of that which in Conſcience a man ought to hold and believe therein, at length I perceived my ſelfe to be much changed. For I found that, firſt doubtfull, then wicked, finally horrible and abominable, which before ſeemed to me, not only tollerable but good and expedient, and ſo came to be exceedingly aſhamed of my ſelfe, and to have pitty and compaſſion of others, whom I ſaw ſtill blinded with my errour, and ſeeking how I came to ſtray in that manner, conſidering that I knew well enough before all that which brought me to my ſelfe againe, I found that it was paſſion and rage, and that as long as I was in any opinion of the League, I was as it were in choller, in a continuall feaver and motion, whereby I learned to my coſt, that it was impoſſible to be moved and wiſe all at a

The beginning of my readviſement proceeded from a ſentence of the good *Caſſiodor*, who ſaith, *Nullam ſatis juſtam tam-ſam videri poſſe, adverſus Patriam arma capiendi*, which came into my minde, I will not plead the Kings cauſe, nor enter into the accuſation & juſtification of the King and the League; many Pamphlets run up and down of that Subject, I have ſeen ſome of them, and in them all me thinks ſomething may be added both to the accuſations and juſtifications, ſo that all is not ſpoken that may be ſaid on either ſide. But ſuppoſe, that all which the League delivers of the King be true; whereas all that is alledged againſt him, is calumny or meer impoſture, or at moſt conje-

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ctures and divinations for the time to come, whereupon it were not ſo much as to be permitted to frame an indictment againſt the veriеſt wretch in the world, and one that were the moſt abhominable creature that ever was, or can be imagined: what will one, what can one conclude thereof? That it is permitted or lawfull for the *French* to riſe up in Armes againſt the King, *Per quam regulam*? Is there any Law, Rule, Deciſion, Example, or Sentence ſerving thereunto? Let us ſpeak ſeriouſly in Conſcience as before God; for I ſweare and proteſt that I have no other conſideration. I find three points of doctrine in the holy Scripture touching this matter of obeying or diſobeying Soveraignes. Firſt we have a very expreſſe commandement of obeying Kings, addreſſed to all in Generall; *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit.* And that with two very notable additions for the preſent caſe; the one of obeying all as well good as bad: for in matter of obedience, the goodneſſe or badneſſe of the Superior comes not any way into conſideration, nor ought either to advance or retard, heat or coole the Subject in obeying. for the commandement and obligation of obeying, is grounded on that which is of God, namely on his ordinance, and not on that which is of man. *Non eſt poteſtas niſi a Deo, & poteſtas a Deo ordinata* Rom
eſt, nam qui poteſtati reſiſtit, Dei ordinationi reſiſtit. In ſaying all power is of God, he doth not except nor exclude ſo much as one, ſaying that it is the ordinance of God, he forbids looking on the merits or demerits, worth, goodneſſe, or indignity of Perſons. There is no reaſon that the defaults of men ſhould abate any thing of the inſtitution and ordinance of God. Moreover the Examples of *Nebuchadonozor*, *Saul* of *Ceſar*, are moſt expreſſe for it. To alledge the Tyranny, wickedneſſe, inſufficiency, negligence of Kings, is to ſay they are wicked; but for all that they ceaſe not to be true Kings: Now they are to be obeyed, not becauſe they are good, but becauſe they are true, that is to ſay, lawfull; For we muſt in all things know how to diſtinguiſh betwixt true and good, falſe and evill. The ſonne of God ſayes, that we are to beware of falſe Prophets, but not of thoſe that are wicked. This were never to have done, a man muſt then goe out of this world. Contrarily he wills us to obey thoſe that are wicked, ſuch

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as the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* were, who were directly wicked; but becauſe they were true, and ſate in *Moſes* chayre, the ſonne
v. 7. of God commands them to be obeyed. The other addition is, that obedience be rendred to them, not for any humane politique conſideration, as for neceſſity. *quaſi malum ſit neceſſarium*, or for any utility that may redound thereby to humane ſociety, or to avoid the troubles and miſchiefes that may enſue thereof, if one ſhould diſobey and ſtirre any thing in the State; but for a ſpirituall and conſcientious conſideration. *Non ſolum propter iram* (ſaith Saint Paul) *ſed etiam propter conſcientiam*; And a little before he
vs. 2. had ſaid, *Qui reſiſtunt ipſi ſibi damnationem acquirunt.* Behold the firſt point which containes the Commandement, moſt expreſſe, moſt generall, moſt ample and pregnant. But is this Commandement ſo abſolute that there is no exception in it? nor is there any place of diſobeying it? Yes, that there is; which is the ſecond point. The holy Scripture teaches us not to obey; but that is in one onely certain caſe, which is when they command things contrary to God. But how is that ſay I? For let Soveraignes live, thinke, ſay, doe whatſoever they will againſt God, Nature, and all Law, that ſhall fall upon their owne account, it is not for the Subject to regard it, it is a crime to ſpeak, and to revile it. What audaciouſneſſe, what madneſſe is it for one to controll, judge, condemne the actions and deportments of his Soveraigne? A man is not permitted to doe it to his Neighbour, to his companion, the Scripture forbids it. Will a man have more authority and right over his King, then the King exerciſes over his Subjects? He goes not to look nor prye into ſecrets. To diſcover and publiſh the diſgraces of his Superior, of his King, is moſt worthy of the malediction of *Cham* and *Canaan*. But when not content to live, doe, and ſay, they will yet by Edicts and Ordinances, by expreſſe commandements, and by force conſtraine their Subjects to doe things contrary to God, then and in that caſe ceaſes their Superiority and their power which is ſubordinate to that of God, as they themſelves acknowledge, in ſaying they are Kings by the grace of God, God is their Superior, God is the firſt and moſt ancient Creditor, unto whom we are eſpecially bound, and with a ſtraiter obligation, whom we are firſt to pay and ſatisfie; nor do

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we obey Kings, but to obey God, who commands it, and hath inthronized them? In such a case the word of God dispenceth with us from obeying them, saying, that we must rather obey God then men. And our Saviour sayes that we are not to feare them that *Act.* have power over the Body, and not over the soule, but Him that hath power over them both. Howbeit withall we are to remember, that although they command things contrary to God, and are not to be obeyed therein, yet leave they not for all that to be true Kings, retaining still their power and authority, and in all other things obedience is due to them. *Julian* the *Apostata* persecuting Christianity, whereof he had made profession, and under the title of it had entered into possession of the Empire, was acknowledged for true Emperour, and obeyed by the Christians in the warres, and all other matters, saving the renouncing of their Religion, as Saint *Ambrose*, and Saint *Augustine* affirme, and as the History delivers at large. It is not to be admitted which some say, how the Christians were not then strong enough to resist, that is to be too much ignorant of the story, the Army, the Romane Legions, yea *totus orbis Romanus* were then Christians; that if there were any Pagans remaining, it was not one in a hundred: The Generalls and great Captains were Christians, appeared after his death, for without any dispute or difficulty, Empire was unanimously conferred on *Jovinian*, a Christian, who was the greatest and next to *Julian*. But what will they say to the Emperours that came after, and were Heretiques as? *Valens, Zeno, Leon, Isauricus, Arrianus, Anastasius*, and *Eutychian*, and others, who persecuting the Orthodox Christians, were notwithstanding acknowledged for Emperours, and obeyed by them without dispute or contradiction. But it is not enough to say that they are not to be obeyed, for we must not rest there; we must know what we are to doe, and learn the Lawfull, just, and meet remedies in such a case, or in such an extremity; which is the third point. I find that the Scripture gives us two *Fugere aut Pati*, a third I meet with none. The one of these Remedies is to abandon quit, fly the Country and Land; the other to endure and suffer all things. The Sonne of God hath taught us both of them, as well in word as in deed; *If one persecute you in one City, fly unto another*;

10,23. *another*; *You are happy if you suffer for my names sake.* So have good men, so hath the Master done, there is no reason that the Servant and the Disciple should fare better. The third, which is not to fly, not to endure or attend the blow, but to oppose with a strong hand, to rise up in Armes, where is that written? Let the whole *Sorbonne*, let all the League together shew it me if they can; now it is easy to shew the contrary. *Nabuchodonozor*, and *Cæsar*, besides that they were both of them Idolaters, they were not true and lawfull Kings by the ordinary way, but Strangers, usurpers, who by force of Armes had invaded and seized upon the Land of *Israel*; Kings by force and not by right, nevertheless it was commanded that *Nabuchadonozor* should be obeyed; and in the twenty seventh of *Ieremy* all those are called false Prophets that would perswade the People from obeying Him. And it is commanded by our Saviour to render unto *Cæsar* that which is his. And Saint *Paul* appealed unto *Cæsar*, which was *Nero*, the most wicked and wretched man that ever was borne of a woman. All this is farre enough from rebelling. The aforesaid examples of *Iulian* the *Apostata*, and other Hereticall Emperours shew no the quite contrary. It is permitted not to obey, and that in certaine case onely, but to rebell, and use wayes of force, ne- between not obeying and warring against; there is a great di- ance, as between Omission and Commission; between the ild that obeyes not his Father, who commands him to kill his her, and the Child that would cut his Fathers throat, and per- cutes him to the uttermost. O the excellency of the Gospell! the Purity of Christian Doctrine! which gives us so good and veet a mean in such pressing and desperate extremities, an expe- ient so proper, that all is preserved without violence, which is so much contrary to the charity of Christian meeknesse. The Laws of the Gospell are not contrary one to another. The Commande- ments of obeying God, not resisting of Soveraignes, nor to be troubled for God and the King, are they contrary? Duty and Force, be they oppose one another? there is a good remedy for it ready in every mans hand, without violenting any thing. Art thou faint-hearted? get thee gone, retire out of the way; the Earth is the Lords, a man travailes for farre lighter causes; give

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place to wrath; to force and ſave thy ſelfe with God. Haſt courage? never came a thing more opportunely to thee. Sacrifice to God of all that thou haſt, and of thy ſelfe too; give two, nay three blowes with one ſtone; make haſt to pay nature her due, withall for thy laſt ſtroake doe a notable ſervice to God, and reape a great and perpetuall benefit for thy ſelfe. Behold the doctrine of the Sonne. Well then, I will cut it ſhorter then all others that diſpute, deny, excuſe, conjure, juſtifie, and length. I ſay in word, Grant all that the League ſayes to as it is not, I and worſe, yet is it not permitted, nor lawfull ny cauſe whatſoever, to uſe the way of Force againſt ratgne, but ſo to doe is a wicked, accurſed and per: Now what aſſurance can they of the League ha: ences, to be ſo furious againſt their true, nat King, though he were altogether ſuch, as they be? I ſay then that there is no Heaven for them the King, and dying in that eſtate, were there notn found amiſſe in them, they carry their condemnation them; and for a heavyer and more grievous aggravation they doe participate in all the Murthers, Treaſons, Rob: ſcandalls, and wickedneſſes, which are committed on ever: whereof they are the cauſe.

FINIS.